

British Parliament and Dail Vote To-day on Irish Treaty

(Continued from page one)

Ireland must trust to the future for progress on this basis rather than to the present.

One reason that De Valera may want to retain his office even in defeat is that among his followers are many who are not the realists of Sinn Fein, but the realists of the majority group perhaps, who are the Polish achieved by the other. In this circumstance De Valera wants to hold onto power for his group as long as possible.

De Valera Under Handicap

De Valera enters the Dail session under a severe handicap. Not a single Irish newspaper, to say nothing of the British press, is supporting him. But still, there are many followers on his side, all of them finding the oath of allegiance the real obstacle to peace. To them the frontier of Ulster is a minor matter.

To-morrow's debate may bring out the fact that De Valera charged the delegates that the Dail Eireann sent to Downing Street to negotiate for peace never to agree to an oath of allegiance, but to insist on the right to a compromise on this question in the belief that they could persuade De Valera to yield, once the treaty was signed. But no speaker is likely to refer to this bitter issue, which came when it was learned that the London government had given out the news that an agreement had been reached before even De Valera was made quite such an unfortunate impression on De Valera.

Sinn Fein Split Possible

If De Valera were to step down as Sinn Fein's leader after the vote the ranks of the party would split wide open and the Nationalists would make a bid for power in the Dail Eireann. John Dillon is still an important figure in the south, but he is handicapped by his years and he has no help to take up the cause. All of the most promising Nationalist recruits have been enlisted in the last four years in the ranks of the Sinn Fein. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that some observers here suggest that the Irish Free State will exist.

Craig Protests Union With Sinn Fein; Lloyd George Against Two Dominions

LONDON, Dec. 13 (By The Associated Press).—The correspondence comprises four letters sent by Mr. Lloyd George and three by Sir James Craig. Mr. Lloyd George's last letter covered a copy of the Irish treaty. To this letter Sir James thus far has not replied. On November 10 the Prime Minister wrote to Sir James as follows:

"The time has arrived when a formal consultation between his majesty's government and the government of northern Ireland is necessary for the further progress of the Irish negotiations. The settlement toward which his majesty's ministers have been working, and which they believe is not unattainable, is closely based upon proposals made by his majesty's government July 20."

The Prime Minister then enumerated the main principles of such a settlement, declaring that if Ireland should give allegiance to the throne she would take her place in "the partnership of free states comprised in the empire." Other points mentioned were a provision for naval security, which the British deemed indispensable for Great Britain, and overseas communication. The government of northern Ireland, the letter continued, "would retain all the powers conferred upon her by the government of Ireland act. The unity of Ireland would be recognized by the establishment of an all-Ireland parliament, upon which would devolve the further powers necessary to form a self-governing Irish state."

Consultation Asked by Britain

Continuing, the letter said: "Northern Ireland will no doubt see many dangers in a settlement on these lines. It may be objected, for instance, that the patronage involved in the various common departments, such as the postoffice, customs and excise, might be unfairly exercised on religious or other grounds, or that, though Ulster would retain control of its education and kindred subjects, the Irish government would be in a position to withhold the funds necessary to defray the administrative cost."

Moreover, it might be feared that if the all-Ireland Parliament were in control of the import and export trade the industries of Ulster would be imperiled. His majesty's government, however, the letter continued, "desires to consider, in consultation with yourself and your Cabinet, how they can best be met. They invite your Cabinet to discuss with them the best means for dealing with these and similar matters, in particular the appointment of officials within the area of northern Ireland, in departments subject to the all-Ireland Parliament, the collection of revenue within the area of northern Ireland, measures for safeguarding the exports and imports of northern Ireland against the imposition of discriminating duties and its citizens from invidious taxation."

Common Authority Essential

"His majesty's ministers believe arrangements can be embodied in the agreement now in view whereby these difficulties can be met. The question of the area within the special jurisdiction of the northern Parliament, we have reserved for discussion with you. The creation of an all-Ireland Parliament would clearly further the amicable settlement of this problem."

"His majesty's government are fully aware of the objections which the people of northern Ireland may feel to participation on any terms in an all-Ireland Parliament. They, therefore, have been examining some alternatives and their conclusions. Their study has convinced them that grave difficulties would be raised for both parts of Ireland if jurisdiction over reserved subjects was not conferred upon a common authority."

"In the first place, customs barriers would have to be established between northern and southern Ireland over the jagged line of the frontier. The inconvenience of this arrangement would be considerably enhanced by the fact that there must of necessity be large elements of the population on both sides, whose sympathies will lie across the border. Natural channels of trade would be arbitrarily obstructed. The difficulty of working out any such arrangement would be unceasing, the cost considerable and the vexation to traders continuous."

Must Bear Imperial Burdens

"In the second place the finance of the government of Ireland act would necessarily have to be recast. It is the essence of dominion status that contribution of a dominion toward the imperial charges is voluntary. If northern Ireland were a part of the Irish state its contribution would be voluntary like those of the dominions. On the other hand, if southern Ireland became a dominion, while northern Ireland remained a part of the United Kingdom, with the essential corollary of representation in the imperial Parliament, it is clear that the people of northern Ireland would have to bear their proportional share of all the imperial burdens, such as the army

tutions conferred upon her by the act of 1920.

"The government of northern Ireland deems it unnecessary to enumerate here the reasons for this repugnance, which, as stated in your communication, his majesty's ministers are fully aware of. But they must observe that the objection of northern Ireland to participation in an all-Ireland parliament, so far from being weakened, has been materially strengthened by recent events in other parts of Ireland, to which it is unnecessary more particularly to refer. It is an objection that goes deeper than the considerations referred to in your communication."

Parliamentary Safeguards Insufficient

"The government of northern Ireland consider it their duty, in order to avoid a misunderstanding, to say that their inability to accept an all-Ireland parliament does not depend merely on the question of safeguards in regard to administrative details. They are certain that no paper safeguards could protect them against maladministration. The feelings of the loyal population of Ulster are so profound, so universal on this point that no government representing that population could enter any conference where this point is open to discussion."

"For these reasons we feel compelled to state that any discussion would be fruitless unless his majesty's ministers consent to the withdrawal of the proposal for an all-Ireland Parliament."

"The government of northern Ireland are fully alive to the difficulties referred to in your communication, but cannot agree that the only way or best way of surmounting these difficulties under the existing circumstances is by conferring jurisdiction over reserved subjects upon a common authority. His majesty's ministers assume that the proposal for an all-Ireland Parliament is that while the status of a dominion should be given southern Ireland, northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom, with the essential corollary of representation in the imperial Parliament and certain financial and other disadvantages which northern Ireland, as compared with southern Ireland, would suffer under such arrangement are pointed out."

"There is another alternative, which his majesty's ministers do not appear to have considered. It is that reserved powers, instead of being entrusted to a common authority, should be divided between the governments of southern and northern Ireland, each in the areas of their respective jurisdictions. The principle underlying the act of 1920 was equally of status and powers for the two governments in Ireland, and this principle should, in the opinion of the government of northern Ireland, be observed in the transfer of reserved powers."

"It is true that it might involve northern Ireland losing her representation in the imperial Parliament, but, while northern Ireland would deplore any loosening of the tie between Great Britain and herself, she would regard the loss of representation at Westminster as a less evil than inclusion in an all-Ireland parliament."

Three of Four Proposals Accepted

"It is realized that if the alternative here suggested were adopted, the contribution of northern Ireland, as also southern Ireland, to the cost of imperial services would be voluntary, as in the case of the overseas dominions. The proved loyalty of northern Ireland to the British Empire is sufficient guaranty that she would not evade this obligation, and the government of northern Ireland are convinced that this plan, the imperial exchequer would have better security for a contribution than from an all-Ireland parliament, the majority of whose members would not likely be animated by sentiments of affection for Great Britain."

"It will be seen, therefore, that the government of northern Ireland are prepared to accept three out of the four proposals put forward by his majesty's government. The fourth proposal they are unable to accept for the reasons stated. They respectfully invite the attention of his majesty's government to the alternative suggestions here submitted."

"In conclusion, the government of northern Ireland desires to express their firm conviction that the time has not yet arrived when the cause of peace in Ireland, which they fervently desire to further by all means in their power, can be promoted by establishing an all-Ireland parliament. Such a constitution can only come from mutual consent of the two parts of Ireland, and the provisions of the act of 1920 will prove sufficient for the purpose of bringing it into existence."

Separate Dominions Indefensible

Premier Lloyd George wrote on November 14:

"I have received with great regret your refusal to enter a conference unconditionally. To demand as between two sets of ministers of the crown the ultimate unity of Ireland, and a discussion is contrary to the spirit of mutual loyalty and co-operation which animates his majesty's governments in all parts of the empire."

"We regret it the more because your counter proposal, that southern and northern Ireland should be constituted into two separate dominions, is, in our judgment, indefensible. We are opposed to it in the first place on the ground of broad imperial principle. To create two dominions in Ireland, one of twenty-six and one of six counties, would fundamentally change the existing system of imperial organization."

"The status of dominions, both nationally and internationally, is based upon the gradual amalgamation of large territories and scattered colonies in natural units of self-government. We could not reasonably claim a place for two Irelands in the Assembly of the League of Nations or in the imperial conference. If Ireland is represented in either institution it must preferably be Ireland as a whole, or, failing the whole, that part which has the largest population and area."

Injurious to British Isles

"To demand the same national and international status for six Irish counties separately is a proposal we could not reconcile with the empire's internal and foreign interests."

"Your proposal would, in our opinion, be equally injurious from a domestic standpoint to the British Isles, both financially and commercially. The erection of two systems of national government in these islands is sufficiently beset with difficulties."

"His majesty's government is determined to face these difficulties for the sake of peace at the heart of the empire and ultimate unity of Ireland. Neither of these objects would be served by the erection of three national governments, involving three systems of customs and excise, three rates of income tax and three currencies. The injury of such a treble system to the trade of Great Britain would be considerable. To that of Ireland it would be ruinous. What the business and the community of northern Ireland would incur under such a proposal when once they realize its implications appears to us inconceivable."

"All experience proves, moreover, that the cost of such a system would be enormous."

"We observe with considerable concern the area within the jurisdiction of the northern Parliament is referred as being open to possible revision. This question was very carefully and fully considered in all its aspects when the government of northern Ireland was under discussion in Parliament last year. The area finally decided upon was defined in the act and it forms no less essential a part of the act than the powers conferred upon the northern Parliament."

Oppose All-Ireland Parliament

"The possible unity of Ireland is provided for by the establishment of the Council of Ireland under the act of 1920, together with the machinery for creating a parliament for all Ireland, should northern and southern Ireland agree to do so. The proposal now made to establish an all-Ireland Parliament by other means presupposes that such agreement is not necessary. An all-Ireland Parliament cannot under the existing circumstances be accepted by northern Ireland. Such a parliament is precisely what Ulster has for many years resisted by all means at her disposal, and her detestation of it is in no wise diminished by the local institutions conferred upon her by the act of 1920."

Reds Expelled From America Are Ordered to Get Out of Riga

RIGA, Latvia, Dec. 13 (By The Associated Press).—Six deportees from America are in Riga temporarily with no place to go, and all of them facing deportation from Latvia within a few days.

Mollie Steimer, Jacob Abrams, Hyman Lachowsky and Samuel Lipman, who were pardoned for their alleged seditious activities by the United States government, on condition that they go to Soviet Russia, and who sailed from New York November 24 for Libau, are in a concentration camp at Riga awaiting permission of the Soviet government to enter Russia. They are hopeful of obtaining this permission before December 18, which is the last day they can remain in Latvia.

via. Abrams's wife also is in the camp. Meanwhile, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who must leave Latvia on December 17 or be sent back to Russia by the Riga authorities, also are still awaiting a chance to go somewhere. Their presence in Riga was discovered a few days ago.

Berkman said to-day that Miss Goldman was ill, and added: "Our plans are still extremely indefinite. We don't know when we shall leave or where we shall go."

The authorities in several provinces along the Latvian border are on guard to prevent Berkman and Miss Goldman from crossing the frontiers surreptitiously.

We are confident that commercial and banking interests will refuse to endorse such a proposal, once they realize its implication.

"We concur with the view that the creation of new frontiers would tend to divide the empire into two parts, and seek to establish such a frontier between Great Britain and Ireland. If, however, you are determined upon such a policy, it is not better to grant Ulster the status of a separate dominion and thus insure a firm, abiding link between northern Ireland and the mother country."

"That being granted, we would be most happy to intrust to Great Britain the safeguarding of our common interests in the imperial conference and the League of Nations."

Insurmountable Difficulty

"You point out the great difficulties of creating a northern dominion in Ireland, and you refer to this as our counter-proposal. That description is not quite accurate. We feel that the arguments you see as objections to two dominions apply with equal force to the creation of one. We only put forward our suggestions because we are convinced that if once you violate the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom it makes relatively little difference to create two new units instead of one."

"Your proposal involved the placing of Ulster under the Sinn Fein, which is an insurmountable difficulty. I desired to be helpful by pointing out a method by which, if this concession is to be made to the south and the west, it can also be made to the north without creating the grave results I indicated. But you must not argue from that that we in the slightest degree modify our convictions that your proposals embodied in the act of last year are the only safe and sound plan both for Great Britain and Ireland."

"To sum up, if you force Ulster to leave the United Kingdom against the wishes of her people, she desires to be left in a position to make her own fiscal and international policy conform as nearly as possible with the policy of the mother country and retain British traditions, British currency, British ideals and the British language, and in this way render the disadvantages entailed by her separation from Great Britain as slight as is possible."

Condition Cannot Be Conceded

Sir James Craig replied on November 17:

"You express regret that my colleagues and I have found it impossible to meet in conference as long as your proposal that we should agree to the establishment of an all-Ireland parliament was open to discussion. To enter a conference under such conditions would be a waste of time, since we know that in no circumstances would Ulster accept such a position, involving permanent subordination to the Sinn Fein. We are strongly convinced that it would only tend to make a settlement more difficult and encourage false hopes, if even by implication we discussed a condition which cannot be conceded."

"In your letter of the 10th instant you indicated an alternative, but have made no mention of the course suggested in our reply. We urge that if you resolve upon complete fiscal separation of Ireland from the rest of the United Kingdom, the same equality of treatment between northern and southern Ireland should be maintained in dealing with reserved services, as has been pursued with regard to services already transferred. You mention various objections to our proposal and suggest that Ulster would be led to economic ruin if she separated from southern Ireland."

"You apparently overlook the fact that your proposal to break the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom would involve the fiscal separation of Ulster from Great Britain, with which 90 per cent of her trade is directly or indirectly conducted. Can it be doubted that more harmonious trade relations would result between Great Britain and Ulster by the control of these matters being in our hands, rather than in the hands of an all-Ireland parliament dominated by the Sinn Fein, which during the last twelve months has enforced a trade boycott against northern Ireland?"

"As to the question of currency, we view with grave concern your proposal to establish a separate Irish currency."

example of good government and just administration within our jurisdiction as shall inspire the minority in our midst with confidence, and we hope to lead eventually to similar conditions being established throughout the rest of Ireland. Our position having been made perfectly clear in this and our former letters, if you hold the opinion that any good purpose can be served by my seeing you for an interchange of ideas I shall be at your disposal when I return from the dedication of the Ulster government Memorial at Thiepval Monday next.

"In conclusion, my colleagues and I desire again to represent with all respect that, in our opinion, it is of great importance that full publicity shall be given to our respective views forthwith, so as to put an end at once to the campaign of misrepresentation in the press to which Austen Chamberlain equally with ourselves takes great exception."

Facing Two Alternatives

Concluding the correspondence, Sir James wrote on November 23, appointing the 23d of that month for their interview. Mr. Lloyd George on December 9 sent a letter to the Ulster Premier, enclosing the articles of agreement signed by the British and Sinn Fein negotiators, and declaring: "There are two alternatives between which the government of northern Ireland are invited to choose. Under the first, retaining all her existing powers, Ulster will enter the Irish Free State with such additional guarantees as may be arranged in conference. Under the second alternative, she will still retain her present powers, but in respect to all other matters not already delegated to her will share the rights and obligations of Great Britain. In the latter case, however, she would feel unable to defend the existing boundary, which must be subject to revision on one side and the other by a boundary commission under the terms of the instrument."

Mrs. Lebaudy's Home Robbed

OF \$15,000 in Cash and Jewels
MINEOLA, L. I., Dec. 13. It became known to-day that the home of Mrs. Jacques Lebaudy, widow of Jacques Lebaudy, who shot and killed her husband in Westbury, in 1919, was robbed of money and jewelry totaling \$15,000 early in November. The money and jewelry were in a cashbox on Mrs. Lebaudy's dressing table.

The police declined to discuss the robbery, but it became known that employees at Phoenix Lodge, Westbury, have been questioned by detectives. Mrs. Lebaudy has since moved to Hillside, Jamaica.

Both Shops

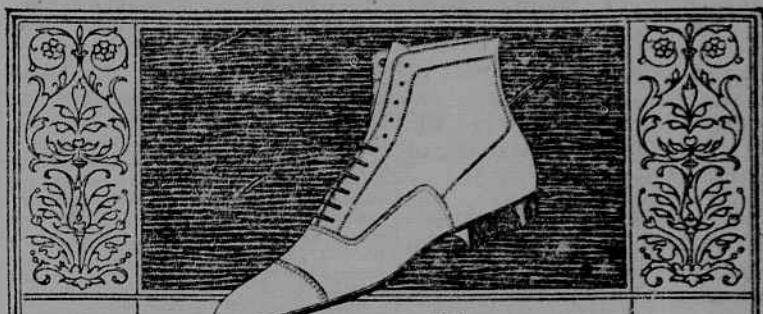
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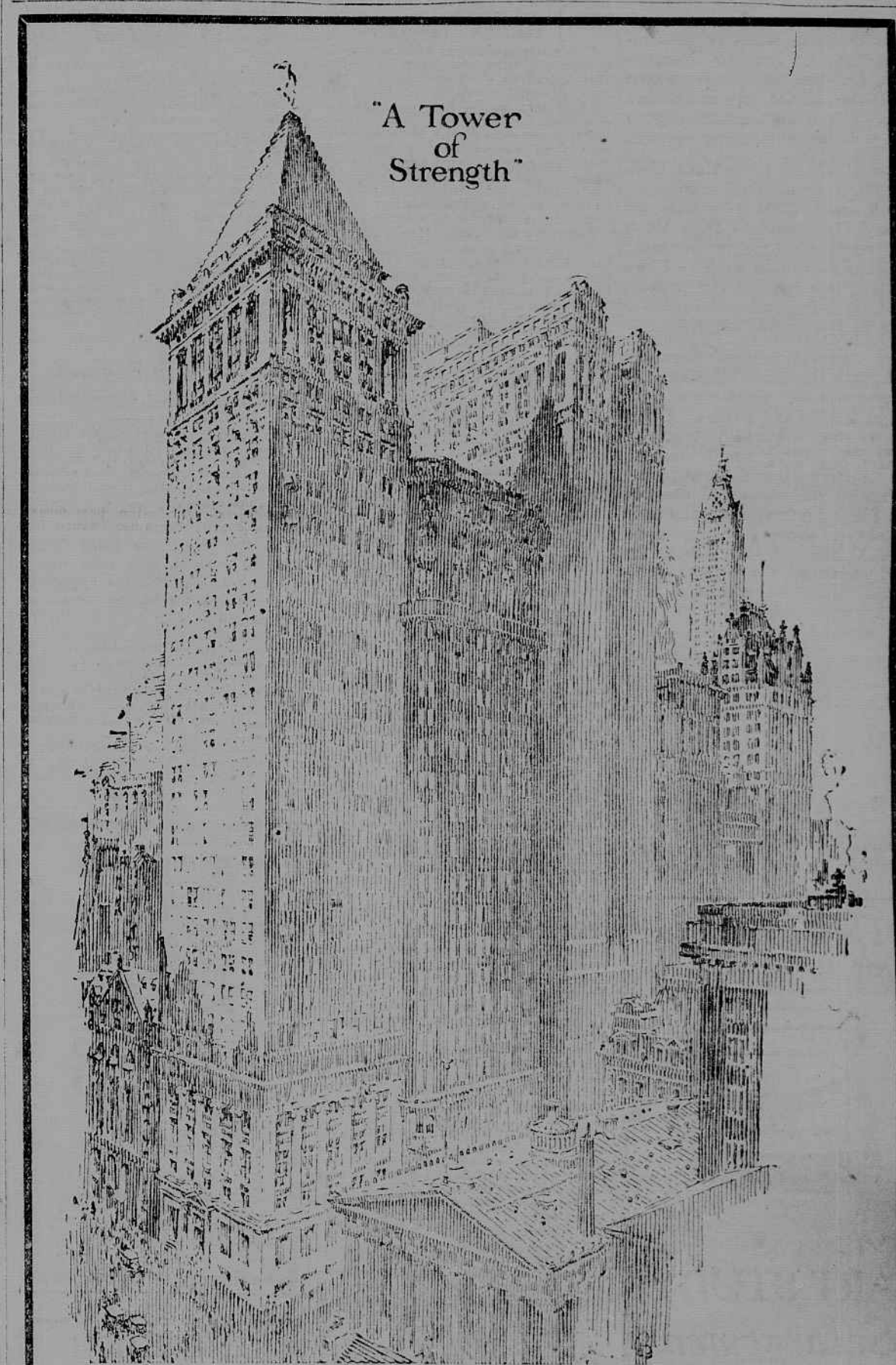
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THE STORY OF REVILLON FURS



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A Necklace of
Caribou Teeth

Over her fur parka this Eskimo woman is wearing an elaborate necklace. The upper rows are made of beads arranged in bold stripes of red and blue alternating with white, while the lower row is a fringe composed entirely of caribou teeth.

No. 96—Life in the North.

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